No Objection to Declassification in Full 2010/11/17 : LOC-HAK-490-8-5-4

CTS-HL-AD5661

(A 111.1,.2)

TOP SECRET SENSITIVE EYES

DOS Review Completed.

ON-FILE NSC RELEASE
INSTRUCTIONS APPLY

1972 OCT 4 AM 5 10

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WEE DE AFBAF

ZZ 0403002 OCT
FM AL HAIG
TO HENRY A KISSINGER

T O P S E C R E T/S E N SI T I V E

EXCLUSIVELY EYES ONLY

HAIG TO 013

TEXT OF MEMORANDUM TABLED BY PRESIDENT THIEU AT OUR 4 OCTOBER MEETING FOLLOWS:

MEMORANDUM

WITH REGARD TO THE NVN PROPOSALS OF SEPT 25, AND THE TWO US COUNTER PROPOSALS HANDED TO THE GVN ON OCT 2, 1972, THE GVN CONSIDERS THAT IT IS IMPORTANT TO LAY DOWN FIRST THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF A GENERAL SETTLEMENT WE HOPE TO SEE ACCOMPLISHED.

THE GVN FEELS THAT THIS IS SUCH A VITAL MATTER FOR THE SURVIVAL OF THE RVN AND THE FUTURE OF SOUTHEAST ASIA THAT IT SHOULD BE DEALT WITH MOST CAREFULLY WITHOUT ANY CLOSE DEADLINE TO MEET. WE FEEL AT LEAST WE SHOULD ADVOID GIVING TO THE OTHER SIDE THE IMPRESSION THAT WE NEED TO HAVE A CERTAIN ARRANGEMENT WITHIN A GIVEN FRAME OF TIME.

MORE IMPORTANTLY WE NEED A CLEAR CONCEPT OF THE KIND OF PEACE WE CONSIDER TO BE A JUST AND HONORABLE PEACE, A PEACE WHICH CAN ENDURE AND CAN SAFEGUARD THE IDEALS AND INTERESTS FOR WHICH OUR TWO COUNTRIES HAVE BEEN

FIGHTING FOR.. THE STATEMENTS WHICH THE USG AND THE GVN HAVE MADE ON FREQUENT OCCASIONS IN RECENT YEARS HAVE ESTABLISHED THE FUNDAMENTAL POSITIONS OF OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS ON THE ISSUES INVOLVED IN THIS WAR. WE CAN ALWAYS PROUDLY DEFEND THEM BEFORE PUBLIC OPINION.

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THE GVN THEREFORE BELIEVES THAT WE NEED NOT FEEL ON THE DEFENSIVE IF THE OTHER SIDE MAKES PROPOSALS WHICH GO COUNTER THE BASIC PRINCIPLES WE STAND FOR.

IN RECENT MONTHS, HANOI MADE THREE PROPOSALS ON AUGUST 1, SEPTEMBER 15, AND SEPTEMBER 25. THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THESE PROPOSALS ARE THAT EACH OF THEM IS EVEN MORE ARROGANT AND MORE ABSURD THAN THE PREVIOUS ONES. IN THIS FRAMEWORK, THE GVN IS NOT CONVINCED THAT WE SHOULD MATCH EACH OF THOSE PROPOSALS BY A COUNTER PROPOSALS OF OUR SIDE WHICH ATTEMPTS TO REFLECT AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE THE NEW AND INCREASING REVENDICATIONS OF THE COMMUNIST AGGRESSORS.

IN CASE THE USG HAS DEVELOPED A NEW CONCEPT FOR A PEACE SETTLEMENT, THE GVN WILL GREATLY APPRECIATE THE NECESSARY INFORMATION FROM THE USG, SO THAT OUR TWO GOVERNMETS CAN CONSTRUCTIVELY EXCHANGE VIEWS ON THE FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS, WHICH WOULD ENABLE US TO CHART TOGETHER A COMMON COURSE OF ACTION THROUGH VARIOUS STAGES, IN THE SAME SPIRIT OF CLOSE COOPERATION WE HAVE HAD FOR MANY YEARS.

IN THAT SPIRIT, THE GVN TAKES THIS OPPORTUNITY TO CONVEY TO THE USG OUR CONCEPT ON THE BASIC ISSUES RELATING TO A PEACE SETTLEMENT:

1. NORTH VIET NAM IS THE AGGRESSOR IN THIS WAR..

THE REPUBLIC OF VIET NAM IS THE VICTIM OF AGGRESSION.

END OF PAGE TWO

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NORTH VIET NAM MUST END ITS AGGRESSION.

2. PENDING THE REUNIFICATION OF VIET NAM, THE REALITY IS THAT THERE ARE TWO VIET NAMS, IN THE SAME WAY THAT THERE ARE TWO KOREAS AND TWO GERMANYS.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO VIET NAMS SHOULD BE SOLVED BY PEACEFUL MEANS, AND THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENTS EFFECTIVELY IN CONTROL IN NORTH VIET NAM AND IN SOUTH VIET NAM.

3. NORTH VIET NAM HAS NO RIGHT TO INTERFERE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF SOUTH VIET NAM, AND VICE VERSA.

THE RECENT PROPOSALS MADE BY HANOI (POINT 4) WITH REGARD TO THE MODALITIES OF GOVERNMENT IN SVN GO COUNTER THIS IMPORTANT PRINCIPLE, AND SHOULD BE DISCARDED..

4. NORTH VIET NAM HAS INVADED NOT ONLY SVN BUT ALSO LAOS AND CAMBODIA. IT HAS MADE THIS WAR AN INDOCHINA WAR. THEREFORE, THE INDOCHINA ASPECTS OF THIS WAR ARE TO SOLVED SIMULTANEOUSLY, IN A COMPPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT.

5. THE BASIC PRINCIPLE OF NEGOTIATIONS IS RECIPROCITY. IF ONE SIDE SEEKS TO IMPOSE OBLIGATIONS ON THE OTHER SIDE WITHOUT ACCEPTING ANY OBLIGATIONS IN RETURN, THERE CAN BE NO NEGOTIATIONS.

END OF PAGE THREE

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THIS IS THE MORE UNACCEPTABLE THAT, IN THIS CASE, THE AGGRESSOR TRIES TO IMPOSE UNILATERAL OBLIGATIONS ON THE VICTIM OF THE AGGRESSION, UNDER THE GUISE OF NEGOTIATIONS.

THEREFORE, THE GVN WOULD LIKE TO INQUIRE WHETHER THE USG CONSIDERS THAT NVN SHOULD ASSUME ANY RECIPROCAL ACTIONS TOWARD A PEACE SETTLEMENT, AND WHAT ARE THE RECIPROCAL ACTIONS AND OBLIGATIONS BY NVN WHICH THE USG CONTEMPLATES.

WE CONSIDER THAT THESE TERMS SHOULD BE CLEARLY SPELLED OUT IN A GENERAL SETTLEMENT.

6. ACCORDING TO THE AREAS OF COMPETENCE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS WHICH THE GVN DEFINED IN ITS MEMO OF AUGUST 17 TO THE USG, NVN IS QUALIFIED TO NEGOTIATE ONLY ON THE MILITARY ASPECTS OF THE WAR IN A FORUM BETWEEN ALL BELLIGERENTS, AND THE PROBLEMS BETWEENVN AND SVN IN A FORUM BETWEEN THE GVN AND HANOI.

THE POLITICAL PROBLEMS IN SVN ARE TO DEALT WITH IN A SEPARARTE FORUM BETWEEN THE GVN AND THE NLF, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE GVN PROPOSAL OF JULY 11, 1969. ANY SETTLEMENTS IN THIS AREA WILL BE MADE IN THE SPIRIT OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION IN SVN, OUTSIDE THE SPHERE OF COMPETENCE OF NVN.

POLITICAL SETTLEMENTS IN SVN ARE TO BE MADE ON THE PRINCIPLE OF SELF DETERMINATION OF PEOPLE.

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